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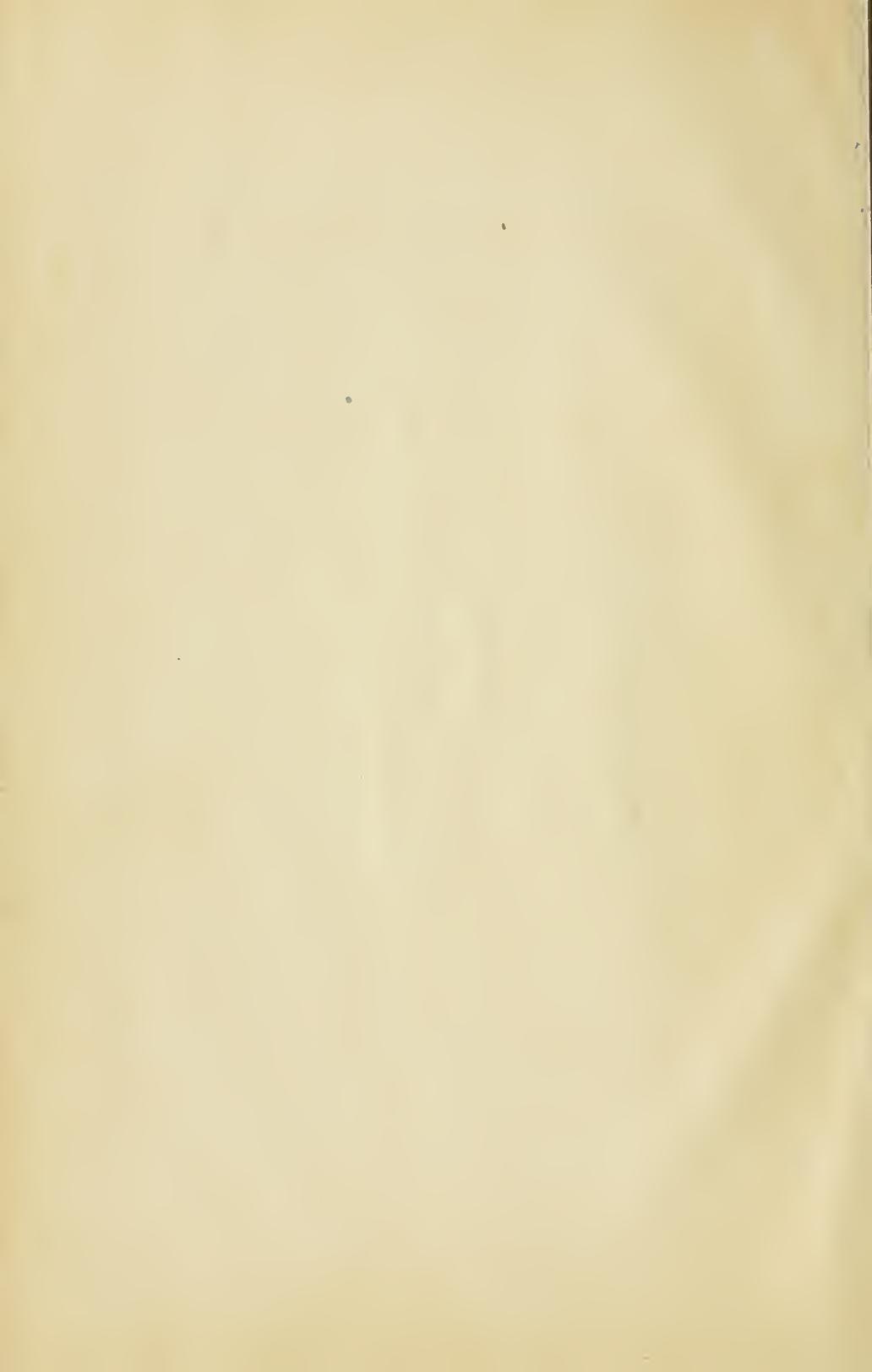
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ADDRESS

BY THE

LOYAL DEMOCRACY

OF

WISCONSIN

TO THE

PEOPLE

OF THE STATE.



A D D R E S S .

BY THE

LOYAL DEMOCRACY

OF

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W I S C O N S I N ,

TO THE

PEOPLE OF THE STATE.

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REPORTED BY ARTHUR McARTHUR,

AND ADOPTED IN CONVENTION AT JANESVILLE, SEPTEMBER 17, 1863.

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MILWAUKEE:

DAILY WISCONSIN STEAM PRINTING ESTABLISHMENT.

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# A D D R E S S



The present unfortunate condition of our country appeals to the American people, asking from all a common devotion for the preservation of liberty, and the vindication of the national authority, assailed by a civil war that has no parallel in history. Under the most momentous circumstances that have ever befallen any people, it is just and proper, that a loyal assemblage should establish in their own vindication and for all future time, the deliberate convictions of their political faith, and at the same time recognize as the highest and most sacred duty which can rest upon the patriotic citizen, that of unflinchingly supporting the Federal Government in its perilous struggle for existence.— This expression is also salutary as well as necessary. The powerful political organization with which we have acted has been betrayed into a position destructive of its usefulness, dishonorable to its patriotism, and entirely inconsistent with its history and achievements. We are, therefore, compelled to be unequivocally explicit in pointing out these infractions upon the faith and honor of our party, and we would also prove that a loyalty exists amongst democrats as sincere and imperishable as was ever felt by any people toward any institutions that sway by beneficent laws. We cannot be blind to the fact that self-constituted expounders have warranted public opinion in attributing

to the democratic party a want of zeal and devotion in a crisis when the government can only be preserved by force of arms; nor can we observe, without anxiety, the construction which a reasoning world places upon the resolutions and popular harangues which assume to utter its sentiments and embody its spirit.— It is beyond denial that the burden and substance, during the last twelve months, of all these addresses, resolutions and pseudo-platforms are fraught with disaffection to the national authorities, and the most terrible predictions of their evil designs. They nowhere invite a generous and hearty co-operation with our defenders, in a war aimed directly at our national life. In a moment of the most imminent public danger they have transgressed every limit of mere political opposition, and in repeated instances resorted to the language of threat and defiance.— Instead of cheering congratulations and cordial suggestions, as the cause of the country prospered or was overcast, these factionary exponents have dealt in lukewarm patriotism, or rancorous personalities. In place of calling upon the people in the old-fashioned thunder tones of the lion-hearted democracy to stand by the government in its efforts to restore our national integrity; or commending any instance of its most brilliant successes, these public effusions have uniformly bristled

with accusation, hindrance and the utmost vigor of censure.

We may ask how deeply do these spurious text books, attempting to exemplify the democratic creed, enter into the duties we owe our beloved and shattered commonwealth—what exhortation do they breathe to follow its banner? What sacrifices do they encourage for its salvation? Where do they compare the appalling evils of defeat, to the minor sufferings and evils and trials through which victory must be achieved? From what stand has a popular mouthpiece uttered a sentence for the last twelve months which betokens an approval of the most fortunate administrative measure or conduct? In what phraseology has one of this class encouraged, a hope that the rebellion will be crushed by executive or military vigor?—Or has one of them upon any occasion suggested or approved of a single expedient by which our success has been achieved, our armies advanced, and the south driven to the wall? The war upon our hands is, indeed, on a scale of unparalleled magnitude; and among the duties of an American citizen, the most vital and absorbing one is its prosecution; and a little more than a year has elapsed since this was recognized by all good men. With a few erratic exceptions, republicans and democrats outvied each other in the promptitude and liberality of their contributions of moral and material aid to the common cause; and all parties, except a few Breckinridge apostles who had not changed their politics, contended with each other for the palm of devotion.

The plan of circumstances remains unchanged at this hour, and our duties and necessities remain as urgent as at the first outpouring of our indignation. The rebellion still rears its head, and nothing has occurred to diminish the sacred duty of suppressing it. The loyal people of the North stand now, as then, steadfast in their devotion.

In the meanwhile disaffected persons calling themselves by a singular abuse of

the term, a "Democratic Party," and possessing themselves of its organizations, profess to have a sincere dread of the Administration as the real enemy to be most feared and first defied; and a strange and painful uniformity is apparent wherever their popular assemblages are held. The last object of concern is the vigorous chastisement of the rebellion, and the primary one is to spread the fire-brands of doubt, apprehension, and the wildest alienation from our own government. We hear from them no soul-stirring appeals of patriotism that sounded as battle-cries in the democratic camps of the Revolution, and with which we roused and moved the nation in our wars with Great Britain and Mexico. Now the changes are rung upon the danger of confiding in the present powers for an instant, and while we are fulfilling the most stupendous portion of our destiny and the thunder of its portents covers the land and the sea, the thin voice of the pseudo democracy whispers only its complaints; and, indeed, so far has accusation extended beyond the limit of fair debate, that the last charge heaped upon the national authorities is, that they forced this cruel war by a dishonorable trick upon the peaceful inhabitants of South Carolina. Every point against the Government is magnified into the most vital importance by large conventions and little caucuses, and the great distinguished public speakers, and the small distinguished public speakers seldom venture from the slimy flow of vituperation and party epithets into the broad torrent that rushes with love of country alone, and stops not to spend itself in envious opposition to the difficulties and errors incident to so great a war.

All these querulous carpings are not only unbecoming the democratic party in this great crisis, but they breed at the same time a spirit of insubordination; they are beacons to the enemy, and if they are even false lights, they still cheer and encourage his hopes, they mislead

true and loyal men who are taught to believe misrepresentations by their constant repetition; while all who are tainted with Southern sympathy, all who are unwilling to bear arms, all who are disinclined to pursue the only course before us, in re-establishing peace and the national Government by force of arms; all who have been guilty of the late insurrections and of resistance to lawful authority (although condemned by all great parties alike), take refuge under the aegis of the democratic party, and demagogues, both in the east and the west, have uttered in its name teachings so disloyal and inflammatory as not to be distinguishable from treason itself.

Those who are more earnest than politicians, avow, without hesitation, that they adhere to it, because they desire peace not even on the best terms, but on the speediest terms.

There is no fact more apparent than its notorious indifference to the war. This element in some of the States has already assumed the form of a principle, as in Connecticut, Ohio and Illinois. The prominent leaders and office seekers here, abstain, through prudential motives, from open and explicit avowals; but the smaller fabricators of public opinion down to the street and bar-room politicians, denounce the war, the taxes and the enrollment, with outspoken and steady vehemence. In this we see that the duties of the citizen have become confounded with his political animosities; and his platforms have moulded him into a state of privy conspiracy against his own government and into unconscious alliance with its enemies. How can partisans led by this class of stump speakers contribute an enthusiastic support to the country?

And yet no one doubts its extreme peril. No one disbelieves the immense dangers to which it is exposed, and every hour is fraught with complications of inseparable perplexity, involving its life

and death! Yet what is the democratic party doing; the party to which Jefferson gave his name, to which Jackson left his mantle? What is this party of memorial history and glorious traditions doing to save the country, to save itself? It is erecting platforms full of terrors and fire-brand addresses which nourish its bitter jealousies, and which becalm it

“Like a painted ship upon a painted ocean.”

There can only be one conclusion drawn from this supine conduct, and that is, that a controlling body of the party in every part of the State are willing to give up the revolted States without an effort, should that effort require any more fighting to retain them, there can be no doubt that this wing of the party constitutes so large a proportion in its ranks as to overawe the more patriotic and dictate the policy of the entire body.

In the present temper of the loyal people our orators, on public occasions, are not yet equal to the statement of the naked fact, but without some powerful agency interposes to check their downward tendency, they will soon be forced into its open admission.

And so true is this, that even now if a democrat who is convinced that the vigorous prosecution of the war is of paramount importance to all other considerations as the only possible salvation for the Union, and avows his sentiments, he is instantly ostracised by the platform adherents. He is thrust from their councils and confidence; he is pronounced an enemy of his country and consigned to outer darkness and the black republican party.

This sort of political jargon is the very provocative to urge people to disregard their obligations as good citizens, and the same mousing after popular bug-bears characterises the “Ryan address” and platform resolutions. They are almost one uninterrupted strain of evil forebodings, oblique perceptions and furious denunciations, while the additional resolve of the

convention which adopted them, to amend the constitution itself to satisfy unpardoned traitors, shows evidently they had forgotten the prestige of the democratic party, and how ready they were to plunge it into an abyss long ago reached by every body of men in our history, who have endeavored to weaken the faith of our people in the righteousness of a war for the safety and honor of the country. The most noted instances of historic infamy have been thus acquired, and posterity has always looked back to these symptoms of lukewarm patriotism with a distaste that no defense was ever able to obviate. The ill-fame which it casts behind grows like the shadows of night darker as the world continues its course. Whilst this act of treachery is now new to the democracy, and its perpetrators have sufficient interest to assert its palliations, the imposture may last, but these will soon die from around it, leaving it in naked disgrace before all aftertimes.

We behold the soil of our country red-dened with the blood of a whole generation, and our soldiers in their graves and our warriors in their blood-stained shrouds—the murdered host of this accursed rebellion,—implore us to sustain by voice and deed the cause in which they fell.

Shall the democracy, who have ever been the war party of the country, rally unhesitatingly and unconditionally to the front of danger and the protection of the Union? We look back with reverence to its early history, let us act with the same wisdom, patriotism and unflinching determination to sustain our government although we do not administer its trusts.

The document commonly known as the "Ryan Address," was incorporated as part of the Democratic creed by the nominating Convention. It is less definite in its recommendations than the resolutions, but when it first appeared, the height of inflammatory language was thought to have been reached; and many of the most unswerving members of the democratic party were alarmed at its tone, and many of the press-

es which now endorse it, refused it admission into their columns, but on the contrary, spoke of it as an insult to the party and the country. The system that has brought all similar productions into the world was cautious and systematic. At first they passed for the spleen of selfish politicians of the New York News and Daily Day-Book school. The popular enthusiasm for some time, kept down the sprouting disloyalty of this class in Wisconsin, and the attacks upon the conduct of the war had called the attention of authority to several of the most violent and dangerous disloyalists in other States. Owing to these facts, the "Ryan Address," and all papers like it, became guarded in their language, and always introduced some patriotic common places as a mask to their real designs. By means, however, of newspaper falsifications and public speeches equally disengenious, and the formation of clubs, in which the most Jacobinical outcries were applauded, an open disaffection was created towards our cause, which, in many places, has since been fomented into open anarchy and bloodshed, and even in Wisconsin, we have seen officers obstructed in the performance of their duties, and unable to execute the law, without the presence of military forces. The bolder ground of the platform resolutions has thus been reached, step by step. This is evident on the most cursory comparison. The Address deals in generalities, which are afterwards condensed and pointed in the resolutions. The former ventured no farther than to say, in the following moderate terms: "We believe that the Executive acts of which we complain, were done rather in inadvertance, by subordinate officers, than in the deliberate purpose of subverting the Constitution or with the sanction of the President."

The resolutions declare precisely upon the same point, that—

"These guarantees have been systematically violated by the present federal administration. Not by accident, not by mistake but upon the deliberate assumption of the President of the United States and his subordinates, civil and military, that they may of right violate them whenever in their judgment it may seem expedient."

And in the same breath, we have the following threat :

"And we hold that every deliberate violation of the popular liberty or private right by the President or his subordinates is a crime against the Constitution which will be followed by just constitutional punishment, if peace and constitutional order should ever again reign in our distracted country."

The extravagance contained in these extracts would have been out of place at the date of the Address. The people had not yet been tacitly compromised to listen to such rhodomantades, and would have rejected the whole affair, with such a repulsive feature in it.

Again, the Address says :

"Whatever man, officer, or party assumes to be true to the Union and not to the Constitution, as our forefathers made it and our forefathers enjoyed it, is disloyal to both. Blind submission to the administration of the Government, is not devotion to the country or to the Constitution. The Administration is not the Constitution, \* \* \* and when the Administration violates the Constitution, loyalty to the Administration may become disloyalty to the Union."

The statement in the resolutions informs us that—

"The history of the world has rarely shown a grosser or more systematic abuse of delegated and limited powers or a more insolent assumption of arbitrary power by the constitutional servants of the people."

The first was, as far as it was deemed advisable to go, at the time of penning the Address. As, however, nothing had occurred in the interim to intimidate the disloyalists, the charge of the grossest violation of the Constitution is made in the resolutions, and thus the latter present the very case in which obedience to the Administration is pronounced in the Address as disloyalty to the Union.

There are not a few inconsistencies between the view of the same subject in these two wings of the platform. The sketch of our national difficulties in the first, declares that "There was no reason why the several States in the Union should not have abided together in harmony for all time;" but the resolutions assure us that "the slaveholding States had received long and grievous provocation, by assaults upon their constitutional rights by Northern Abolitionists, *the original and accursed cause of the civil war now raging.*" How likely "abiding together in harmony for all time," is to be the result of long and continued provocations by assaults upon their constitutional rights," is a proposition we leave to be reconciled by the democrats

who swallowed the chimera. Nor is the Address consistent with itself, as these two extracts will show. The first one is :

"That the revolt and consequent civil war were a long foretold and probable result of the accession to power of a sectional party, because their success was the defeat of the spirit of the Constitution."

The same twaddle about the spirit of the Constitution being violated by the election of a President, made according to the forms and obligations prescribed by its own provisions, has certainly no right to a place in the platform of a constitutional party, and if it has any force, it applies more strongly to those who voted on the same occasion for Breckinridge, than to any class of men in the country, some of whom are upon the State Ticket. But the other extract traces the giant crime of rebellion to its proper source. It reads as follows :

"But the truth is that the apostles of secession were traitors at heart, independent of the election; and that they wanted and used the election only as a lever to precipitate the South from its allegiance. They duped the South into the belief that the entire people of the North were infected with the leprosy of abolition."

And the resolutions to put both of these statements at defiance, and taking sides with the revolted States, informs us that the abolitionists were the original and accursed cause of the civil war now raging. And the learned and able gentleman who was the presiding officer of the nominating Convention, declared that our own government drew the first fire from Southern guns by a preconcerted trick to initiate a civil war. Indeed, the Address, through many paragraphs, labors to divide the responsibility of our present condition between the secessionists and the sectional parties in the North. But the account given by the presiding officer of a villainous and unchivalric act of the South, goes beyond a mere palliation; it acts as a justification as it is intended to do, and to throw the *casus belli* upon the North alone.

But these inconsistencies and historical perversions would not have been endorsed by the delegates if they had for a moment thought of the past. Many years before the "Abolitionists" or "Republicans" had a voice, South Carolina (to whom the term "original and accursed cause" of this rebellion is far more applicable than where

we find it) refused to vote at the Presidential election at all; and in 1832, this State had levied armies and prepared every thing for resistance to the laws, as much as if a foreign invasion was about to enter her territory. She adopted an ordinance of conditional secession, and such was the indomitable spirit that appeared to prevail, and the determination not to permit the laws of the United States to be executed, that an act of compromise was effected solely to avert the consequences her threats of civil war predicted. General Jackson was President at the time, and he was about to give an appalling explanation of what he considered "treasonable practices."

He considered that Calhoun had incurred the penalty of death, death by the gallows, without an overt act of violence; and in the presence of the Great Eternal he avowed his solemn determination that he should speedily be brought to justice. He did not stop to palaver with South Carolina through platforms about their having received long and grievous provocation, by assaults upon their constitutional rights, on account of the revenue laws which they affirmed to be sectional for the benefit of the North. The dispute was ended by compromising the protective system; and every national measure for the last thirty years that the South has found too long or too short for their views, has been denounced as sectional, and such no doubt do they regard even the bombardment of Charleston itself. General Jackson declared that nullification was the pretext for disunion then, and that their next pretext would be slavery. The Ryan platform verifies his prediction. But it is a most indecent exposition to engraft palliations for unpardoned traitors in the democratic creed.

That portion of the address relating to slavery is one of the most singular passages to be found in political literature. It rivals any of the tortured defenses which bondage calls to its aid, for although we are told that "the democracy have no apology for Southern slavery," yet a considerable space is devoted to its vindication. Within a quarter of a century, although slavery had put forth more apologies for its own

existence and extension than any other subject of criticism in the circle of human affairs, yet the democracy have never been so unwise as to make a defense of slavery an element of party, wisdom and piety. We have always regarded the institution as within the protection of the constitutional compromises; and even Southern democrats of the most extreme opinions never asked us to defend it outside of the constitution. But while the masters and partizans of slavery have had no little anxiety in disposing of its imputed criminality within their own conscience, and before the world, the terrible question is disposed of by the conscience-keepers of the Wisconsin democracy, by declaring, as an abstract proposition "that the proper condition of the African was subjection in some form to the white \* \* \* when brought together, the servitude of the inferior is the best condition for both races." \* \* \* "Nature has made social equality impossible without fatally sinning against her laws." \* \* \* This state of things is pronounced "a misfortune, not a crime;" "a necessary evil resulting from the violation of natural law in bringing them together," &c., &c. This goes far beyond the serious opinions of reasonable Southerners, and the philanthropist of the address should not have withheld the opinion of Mr. Jefferson, whom we have always regarded as the best possible authority, who, upon this especial subject in the abstract, has said that the Almighty has no attribute that can take sides with the slave master. The attempt is now made, we believe, for the first time, to make this dogma not a mere expression of opinion, but an article of political faith; and perhaps we should not be surprised that the attempt to discredit the war and its active powers should be coupled with a vindication of the peculiar institution our enemies uphold as the basis of their government, and which has led to the blood and ashes of this rebellion.

As a political organization the loyal democrats have nothing to do with it whatever. Its present treatment is one purely military, its future consideration will be urged before competent tribunals, or disposed of by the direct course of events beyond the

control of political action. The Union must and shall be preserved, even if slavery should perish in the dreadful contest.

The address designates the present hour "as a time of great trial and calamity;" "of national suffering and sorrow," "and a crisis of fearful peril to the Union;" and it might have added infinitely stronger terms to express the appalling dangers of our condition; yet in such a moment, when it was so necessary to unite all patriotic citizens, it forgets and forgives no differences of party opinion, but it recalls and embitters them all. The "fearful peril" calls for an amnesty of party animosities, and an offer of peace for past differences of opinion. At the moment of its appearance conciliation was the overruling thought of the people. Instead, however, of this, the address becomes a sweeping and ungracious accusation against an immense body of the loyal people of the North who, as it would appear from the returns, have furnished our armies with so many of our defenders. The charges are sounded upon abolitionists and republicans, and the traitors of the South may feel themselves compensated for what is said of them in the vindictive abuse heaped upon so large a class in the very armies that are defeating them. Indeed, the document is a proclamation to a bitter party warfare, and beyond this there is no appeal to our love of country and fealty to our government; while the whole tone of its phraseology is throughout rueful, querrulous and threatening. Its terms are denunciatory and imperative. Their staple is that the whole war policy of the government should be abandoned.

To Americans who are acquainted with the fact that this appeal was made to a people who might be invaded and shot down in open daylight, the principal blemish of its conception would appear to be the utter and reckless selfishness of its points and objects. Its lamentable want of perspicacity in grasping the very clear outlines of our national position, its unpardonable concealment of the demands and necessities created by that position, and its inability to instruct a loyal mind, or even cope with the most humble patriotism, should be suf-

ficient to exclude it from the confidence or respect of all loyal citizens. The loyal democracy cannot accept it as an exposition of democratic principle while they denounce it as falling far short of the demands of this perilous contest.

The platform resolutions begin, where the address leaves off, with an evident persuasion that if the people of Wisconsin endured the first, anything that could be easily written would not surpass their tolerance. Proceeding upon this plan, the first of these resolutions recognizes as a fact that doubts had existed whether the Federal Government had power "to coerce a State peaceably withdrawing from the Union," but that this had been solved by the South firing the first gun. The inference, however, still remains that unless a State makes open war upon the Union it is doubtful whether the General Government has power to compel the several States to remain in the Union. From whence came this paralyzing doubt, and how comes it stamped with democratic authority. If there be anything in the doubt, then the republican resolutions of our State Legislature truly condemned in the address are sound. The dogma came from Southern nullifiers, and no cloud of mystification will ever persuade the clear American mind that they were incompetent to defend their own government, their civil institutions, and their hereditary franchises.

The incompetent powers of the old Confederation plainly demonstrated the necessity of a change in this particular, and furnished a cogent reason for the adoption of the constitution. The necessary authority of our government in questions of State insubordinations was strenuously affirmed by the democratic party of this State all through the Booth trials, and the adjudications growing out of that controversy. The constitution is the same now as then, and why should any countenance be now given to a doctrine which we then denounced as revolutionary.

The second resolution commences by approving of "a war" for the defense of the Union. The question which these resolutions habitually elude is *the present war*, with the battles it has fought since the re-

bellious attack upon Sumter. [Here is a mighty struggle for national existence, honor and posterity. Are you for or against it? If the latter, what boots the extenuating and qualifying casnistries with which you seek to disguise a sentiment you dare not to announce. Is the present war that heaven-approved contest upon which you invoke the blessing of Almighty God, or is it "as unholy a war as ambition could devise or tyranny inflict?" condemned in the platform. If you do not drop all vagueness and become explicit on this point, the world will not respect the verbiage which stands godfather for your patriotism.

This resolution is followed by laborious diatribes upon the violated constitution, military usurpation, official imbecility, and the duty which some day may devolve upon the people to take the law into their own hands. As nearly two columns of them have been published daily in a Milwaukee organ as the very acme of democratic wisdom, they must be familiar to all who peruse that respectable journal. (The fate of this journal is a remarkable instance of mutability in political affairs. It has been engaged lately in reading democrats out of the party, and is now excommunicated itself by the potent edict of the author of the platform.) The rabid character of some of the points, nevertheless, entitle them to as brief a repetition as this extended address will admit. Take the following extracts as a sample of the whole :

"But that war waged by the federal government to reduce sovereign states to provincial dependency, or to subvert rights secured by the constitution to the several states and the people thereof, under a pretence of maintaining both, would be as unholy a war as ambition could devise or tyranny inflict.

3. *Resolved*, That while we believe that the slaveholding states had received long and grievous provocation, by assaults upon their constitutional rights by northern abolitionism, the original and accursed cause of the terrible civil war now raging yet we believe the revolt.

And that the present federal administration, in conducting the present war, has left the world in doubt whether their principal object is to restore the constitution at the south or to subvert it at the north. The history of the world has rarely shown a grosser or more systematic abuse of delegated and limited powers or a more insolent assumption of arbitrary power by the constitutional servants of the people.

Our fathers founded the constitution, and if those charged with the administration of the fed-

eral government should be so insane and guilty as to turn their power against the rights of the states and the people of the north, we fully believe that they will find the great masses of the northern people without distinction of party, worthy of the constitution by supporting it, and worthy of the fathers who founded it, by imitating their example under lawless oppression. Better liberty and right out of the Union than a government above the constitution and the laws.

These guarantees have been systematically violated by the present federal administration. Not by accident, not by mistake but upon the deliberate assumption of the President of the United States and his subordinates, civil and military, that they may of right violate them whenever in their judgement it may seem expedient.

And we hold that every deliberate violation of the popular liberty or private right by the President or his subordinates is a crime against the constitution which will be followed by just constitutional punishment, if peace and constitutional order should ever again reign in our distracted country.

Many other official acts of congress, the president and his subordinates, not only tend to show a conspiracy to establish, but if executed, do of their own force establish a military despotism on the ruins of the constitution."

There are attendant phrases clustering around these appeals to a spirit of contumacy to recommend them to public toleration. This only makes them more dangerous. Now, such are some of the insinuations, which, though not heard of at the time of the Address, have since then dilated into the bulk and burden of political platforms and oratory. If it had been the design to lay our present form of Government aside, a more revolutionary method of preparing the public mind for that event could not have been devised by the ingenuity of our leaders. If the Executive, in the confusion, embarrassment and bloodshed of this mighty struggle for national existence, commits an act, these self-constituted censors pronounce unconstitutional or infractory of State rights, they assume the right to proclaim his efforts tyrannical and "unholy," and if Congress or the President fall into errors, they are to be denounced as lawless oppressors, and the "great masses" are to imitate the revolutionary example of their fathers. Another conclusion to which we are driven by these fulminations, is, that the war against the revolted States has become unholy and damnable, from some cause or other, in its conduct; and this is the inevitable inference from the connection of the statement in the second

resolution. There is a constant recurrence of grievances we have never felt, and they are repeated at every breath, as if the people could not otherwise be brought to believe in the truth of the picture. Is this like the calm transactions of men resolved to stand by their rights, their country and firesides, in a moment so humiliating to the loyal American heart.

It is an often repeated motto that the President is amenable to the laws as well as the private citizen, and a vindictive threat is made of bringing him and his officers to punishment at some future day. We are not engaged in a defense of that officer, but are exposing these resolutions. The main allegation, in connection with this threat of punishment is a direct falsehood. The President has never set himself above the law, or deliberately assumed that he had a right to violate the provisions or guarantees of the Constitution, as charged upon him in one of these extracts. On the other hand, he has in his acts "assumed" to place himself behind the aegis of the Constitution and asserted its paramount sanctity, and it is well known that he has rescinded in a spirit of cautious compliance with the general tenor of the Constitution, many acts of his subordinates. It should also be said, for the sake of truth, violated in this resolution, that the correspondence, State papers and personal interviews, in which the President and his advisers have spoken upon public affairs, they have uniformly contradicted the fact that they followed any other guide than the Constitution and the laws. In this speculative opinion he may have been mistaken; but what can be more pernicious than holding a threat of punishment and degradation over the head of the Chief Magistrate for an offense of which he is not guilty, to fall upon him as soon as he shall rescue us all from an almost exterminating peril. But such is the mysterious way of a platform.

There is a passing compliment to our soldiers, and the only other object selected for sympathy is a man who is principally notorious for his glaring treason. Vallandigham is introduced, with a volley of abuse, derogation and defiance to the pow-

ers that be, in the implied impersonation of a hero and a patriot, and as the most notorious villifier of the war is to be exalted for his misdeeds and the method of their punishment.

Without entering into the controversy on this point, we thus see a most contumacious demagogue, who endeavored by every artifice in his power to stir up sedition among the citizens and mutiny among the soldiers, represented as a martyr to human rights, whom the people cannot too much honor. It is simply a tender to every man with the ability and opportunity, to stir up revolt for the sake of civil promotion. It is a prize offered for the greatest proficiency in disloyalty and public disturbance. It is made the qualification of the Governor, of a large and powerful State, to have declared void the acts of Congress, the authority of the public servants, and excited insurrection among the people whose government is tendered to him. The example of Vallandigham is more depraved than the combined ferocity of the New York rabble, because it leads to such outbreaks. The only compensation in this shocking transaction is that the brutal murderers who are instigated by such teachings, will serve out their period of incarceration and slink out of sight, but the Ohio traitor will never be forgotten as long as the name of Benedict Arnold is remembered. It will retain its bad pre-eminence after his more feeble imitators in Wisconsin shall have perished forever.

A lamentable want of political candor is observable throughout all this enormous platform. The Northern or Loyal States have been visited, as we are told, with an experience of woe and danger, of tyranny and oppression, to an extent seldom found on the pages of history, and the final conclusion is announced: "*Better Liberty and right out of the Union, than a Government above the Constitution and the laws.*" This piece of gasconade is not an original conception with the platform. It is an old fire-eaters sentiment, drank too with applause for the last quarter of a century in South Carolina and the slave cities generally, from whence it has been transplanted by our Wisconsin oracles. And to give

point to this motto, we are further told that in certain contingencies, the masses will be found worthy of the fathers who founded the Constitution "by imitating their example under lawless oppression." That is, the Constitution is to be preserved by levying war against the federal authorities as our fathers did against George the Third and the Stamp Act. It is to be deplored that able men will work themselves up to such a pitch of inflammatory expression at an hour requiring so much deliberation as the present, and it is still more wonderful that such Southern exotics should make their appearance in the meditations of a modern expounder. To cap the climax, the genius of Wisconsin, in infusing hatred of lawful authority, soar to such a height that it declares the history of the world has rarely shown a grosser or more systematic abuse of powers or a more insolent assumption of arbitrary power, and that the Administration, in conducting the war, has left the world in doubt whether their principal object is to restore the Constitution at the South or to subvert it at the North. In other words, we are told that the efforts of the Administration to subvert the Constitution in the North, have been equal to all the great battles, and the expenditure of a thousand million of treasure, and a hundred thousand lives, engulfed in this war against the South.

Is this not the language of insanity ?

We are told that the South are destroying the most benignant government on earth, but in another breath we are informed that our own authorities are systematic oppressors, insolent assumers of power, and deliberate violators of the law, and that no man can tell whether they are attempting to destroy the constitution or to save it ; that we are right in defending our country, but that the administration is not the government, and that we have a right to revolt from it. If we would march firmly against the enemy, we are pointed to a greater foe among our comrades. The broad ground is admitted that the South has robbed us of our fairest possessions, but we are especially instructed that we have been robbed of our most precious privileges by our own government in the North. We are told that most un-

doubtedly we should defend the Union of our fathers, and the same breath admonishes us that the very means employed to do so are in danger of being used in the most unholy device ever conceived by tyranny and ambition.

The armies of the South are our enemies on all the battle-fields in this war, and on the seas of the earth. They have destroyed our peace, shed our blood, and sunk our ships for two years. Yet we are told that an equal enemy prepares destruction for us at home, and that both of them are foes to us of the greatest magnitude.

In a crisis demanding the utmost singleness of mind, an honest patriotic party ask advice ; they are anxious to do their duty, and they repair to a publicist of note ; he gives them a platform, and their confusion is complete.

They are thus imbued with the idea that the national administration and the democratic party constitute hostile elements, and that the latter must find fault with and denounce every act of the former. The safety of the country is at stake, and may be deeply and fatally affected by this ruthless proscription ; yet the most abject subservancy to these prejudices is the only acceptable pledge of party obedience, although it banishes justice and patriotism from our ranks, and deprives our country of our sympathy and aid in the moment when its life or death hangs upon passing events.

Again, an able bodied youth experiences an antipathy towards shouldering a musket, and consequently desires to defraud the country of his enrollment. His political instructors tell him that the war is a nefarious one, and may become "unholy" in its present hands, and he willingly participates in these views. He and a thousand or more like himself finally adopt an address and a string of resolutions setting forth these doctrines, and he stands upon his platform. The laws of Congress, the decencies of patriotism, and the common peril of us will have been superceded by his platform. He lives and breaths under the Ryan dispensation. If he commits treason, well and good, so have his friends and guides. Will the democratic party

much longer submit to such guidance. We call upon them to repudiate this stupendous system of contradiction and selfish abstractions, and once more raise the standard of our former triumph and glory.

Amidst all these inflammatory appeals, no word is spoken of the ceaseless cares which weigh down those guiding our destinies; no thought is bestowed on the mighty task of a government sending forth thousands to battle who may never appear again among their friends; no sympathy for the wisdom which has preserved our national capitol from desecration, and which has kept the country unentangled with foreign nations, and unscathed by their hostilities.

We are not enjoined to admire with gratitude the development of our colossal finances, or the resources and prosperity which strike other nations with wonder.

We are not referred to the material comfort and increasing independence of almost every branch of industry, or the magical development of heretofore unknown sources of security and power. Why are we not reminded of the opulence that has settled upon the cities, or of the auspicious rewards that are gathered from labor in the country? Even the narrow partizan cannot offer his congratulations that our favorite arm of defense on the sea is now a wall of iron that the batteries of the old world cannot indent or deflect from its course. No cheering word escapes from this mass of animosity, turbulence and remorseless egotism; not an interest or passion is laid on the shrine of our country. Patriotism, affection and self-denial throw no votive garland to their mother land; they pass by and leave its altar cold and bare.

Such are some of our reasons for opposing the platform and the present position of the disloyalists. We cannot defend the latter any more than we can uphold the patriotism of the Hartford Convention, and we rejoice to know that the State and the country abound with a clear-sighted and loyal democracy. The sophistries of practiced debaters, of special pleaders, and technical hair-splitters, have never been able to impose upon them a permanent misconception of public affairs, nor of their public duties. The sober second thought

has invariably dispelled the errors produced by new issues and propagated by designing partisans. And even already there are many indications that public opinion has become in a considerable degree disabused of the erroneous impressions the address and its accompanying resolutions were intended to produce. A deliberate examination of these cold-blooded productions has carried a wide-spread conviction that they were put forth for the ends of a bitter party warfare, and not for the welfare of the whole people; that they merely deal in the conventionalities of a hollow loyalty; that their patriotism is one of pretense, and not ardent and spontaneous; that they retail the words of an actor, without the inspiration of a patriot. The intuitive discernment of the people has detected the contradictions and evasions which these papers impiously set up to meet the great issues of this convulsion, and which are insisted upon as their standard of political faith.

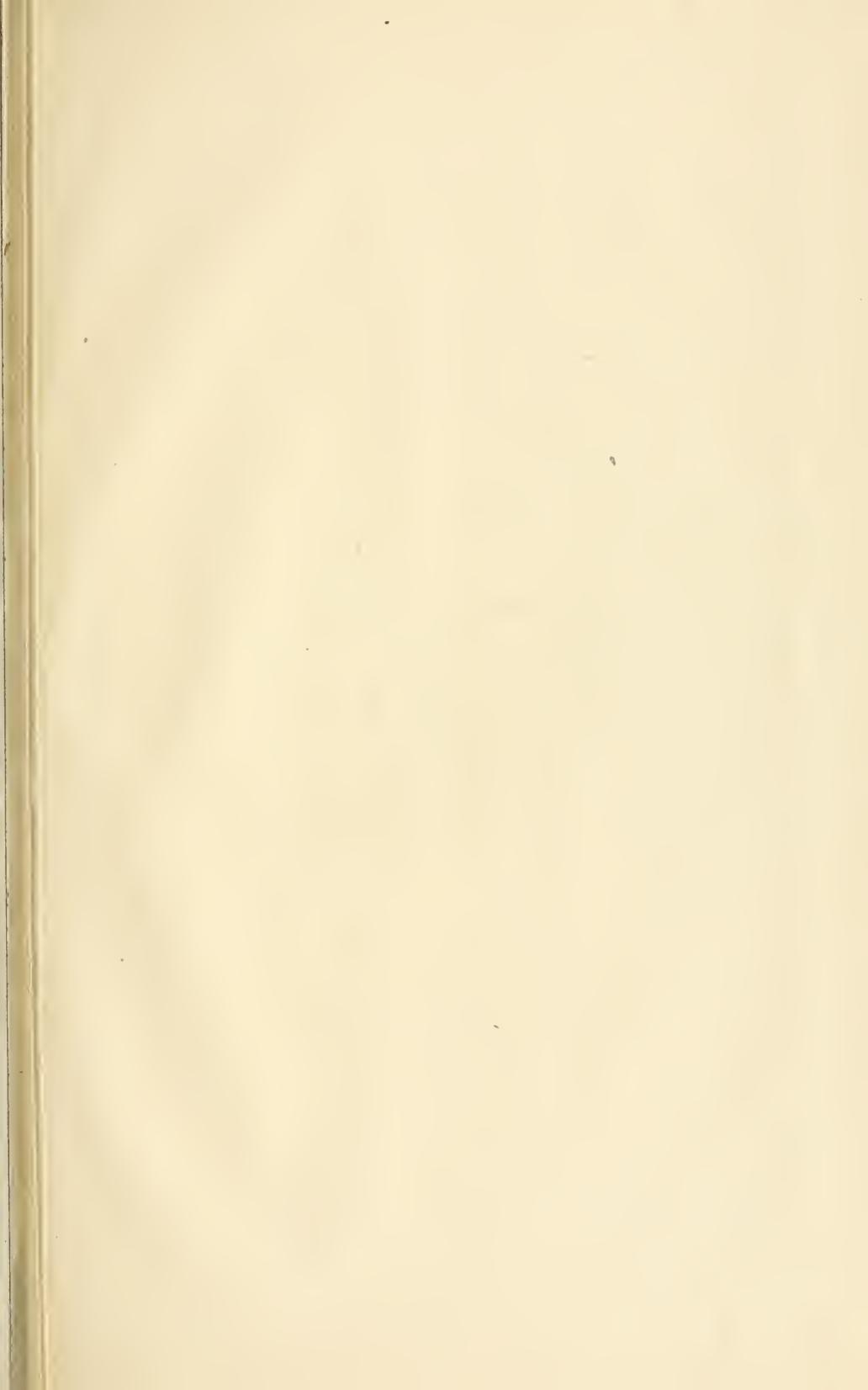
The people observe that in spite of the ominous predictions and wide-spread oppressions which they recklessly claim to exist, that our armies are triumphant, our credit unshaken, public liberty held sacred and universally enjoyed, while all kinds and conditions of men are prosperous and contented. They also know that the very men who have personally confronted the dangers, and most intimately observed the necessities of the present war, give the most solemn verdict in its favor, and we hear of no remonstrances against its conduct or continuance from the Starkweathers, the Barstows, the Sanders, the Braggs, the Fairchilds, the Hennings, or the Hobarts. The forethought of the democracy is already beginning to tear the veil from the monstrous fallacies which the platform exalts to the importance of democratic truths, and already the enemies of our national integrity, of our Union and our Constitution, appear before the party they have failed to deceive and destroy, to receive their condemnation at its hands. Here, to-day, we raise the old standard, blazing all over with its resplendent motto: "The Federal Union: It Must and Shall be Preserved!"

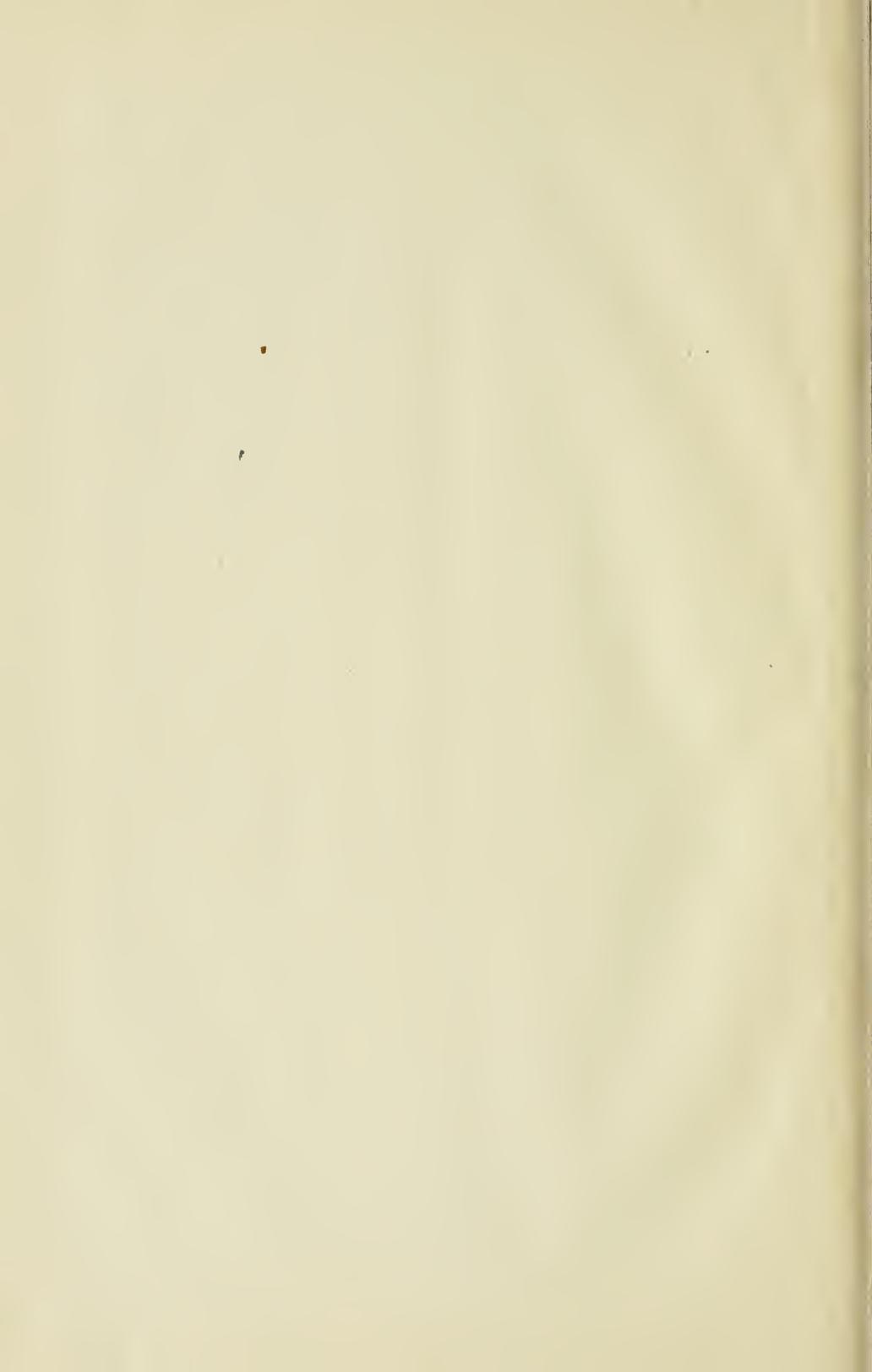
ARTHUR McARTHUR, Chairman of Committee.

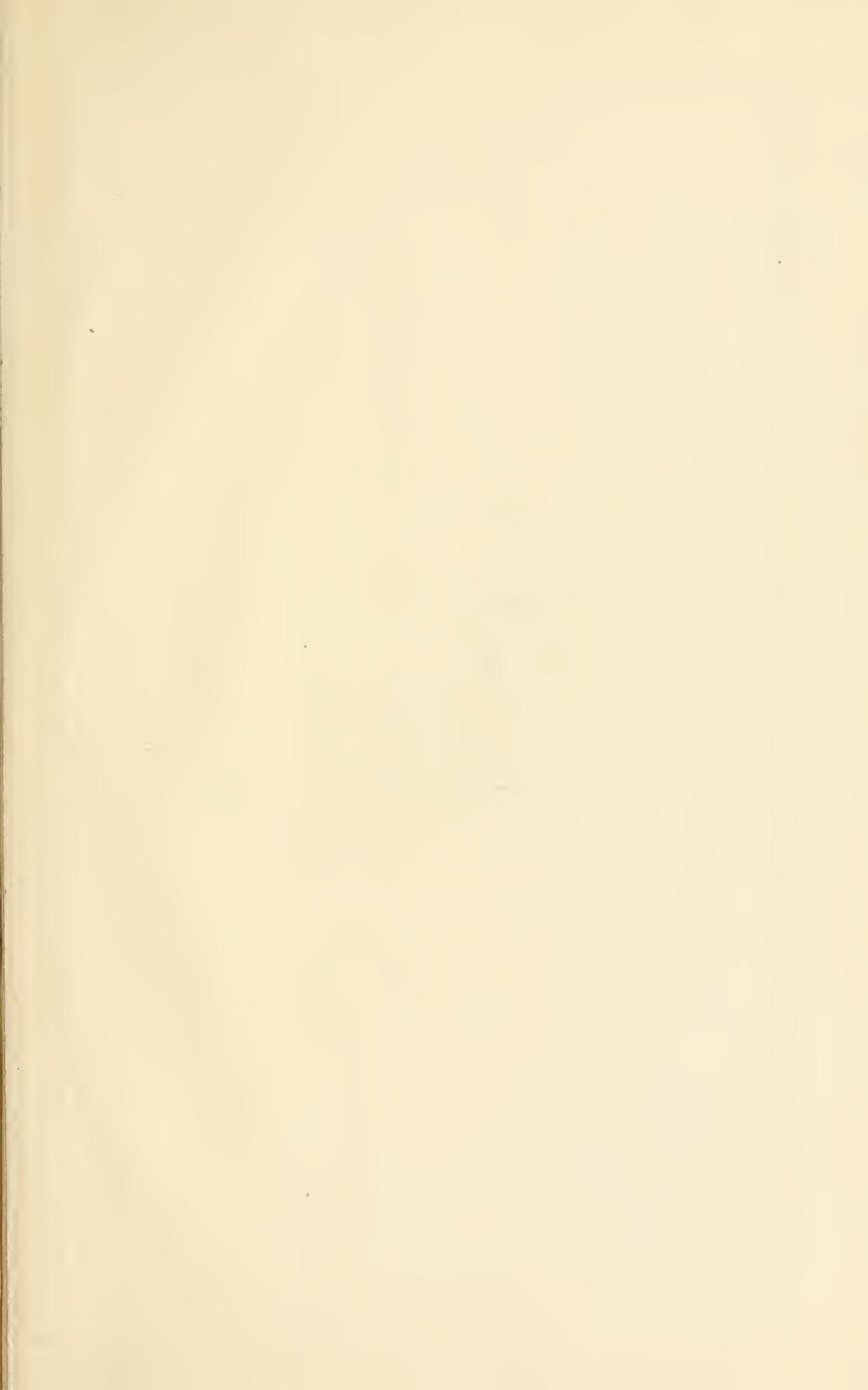


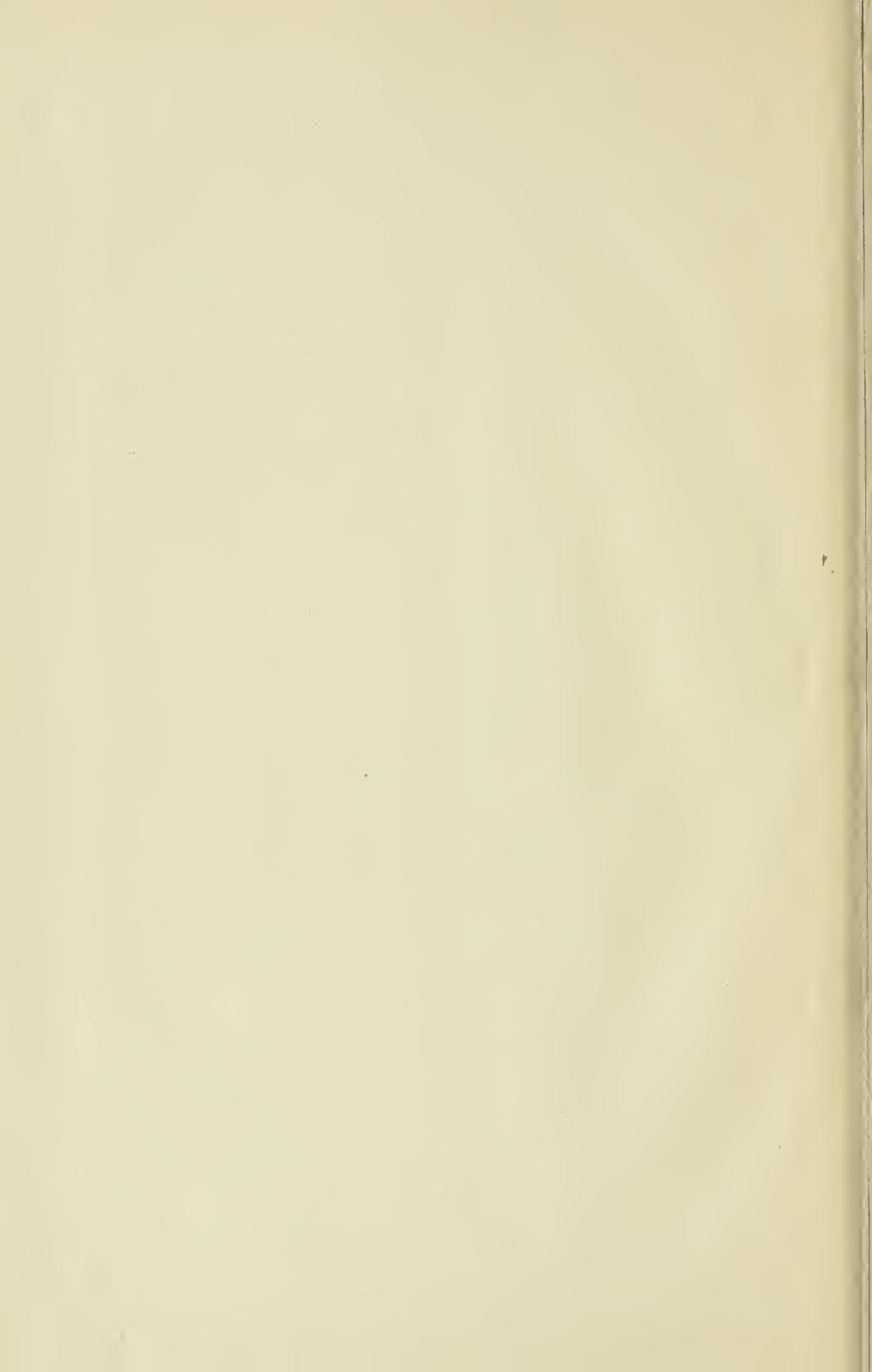


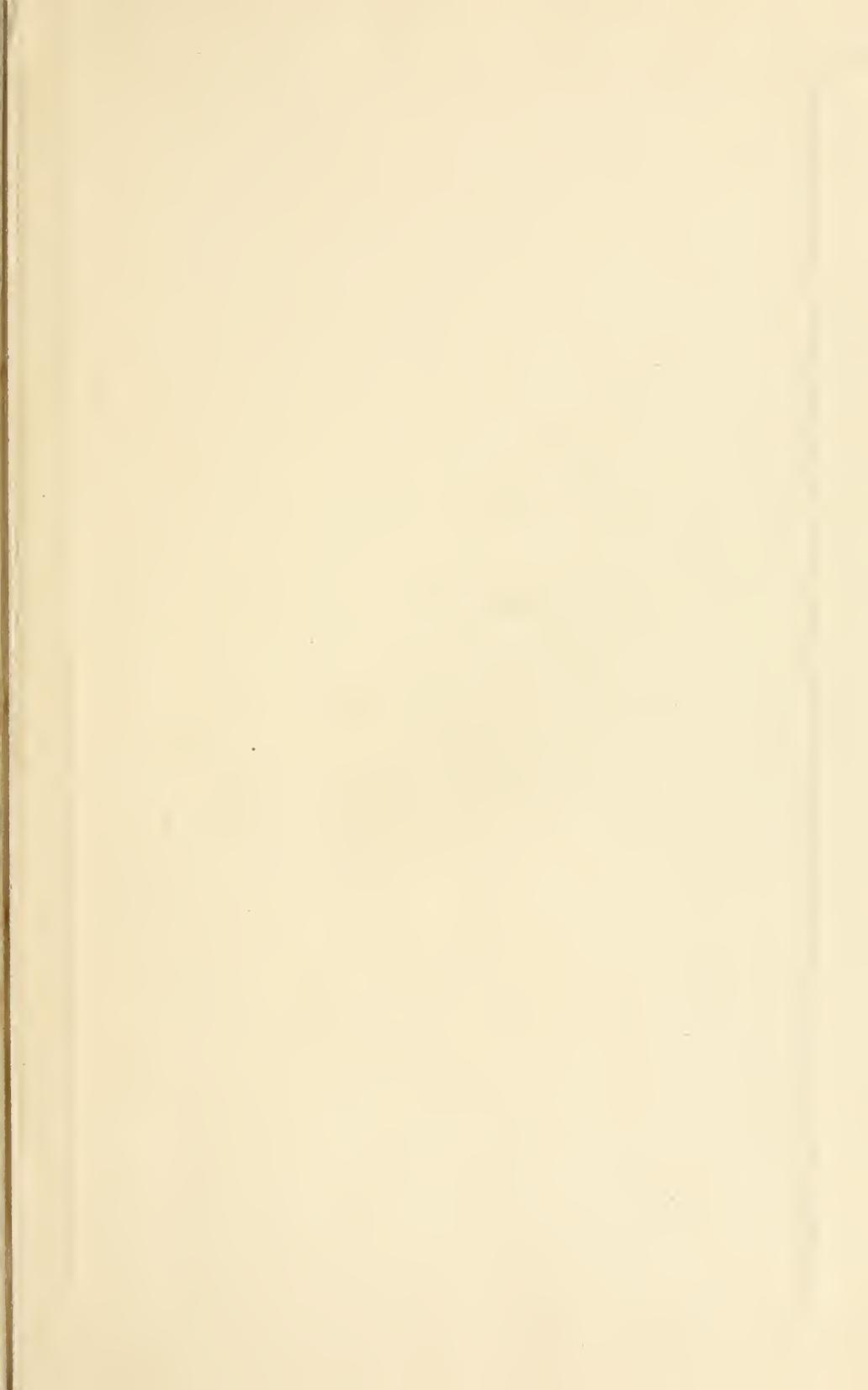
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